1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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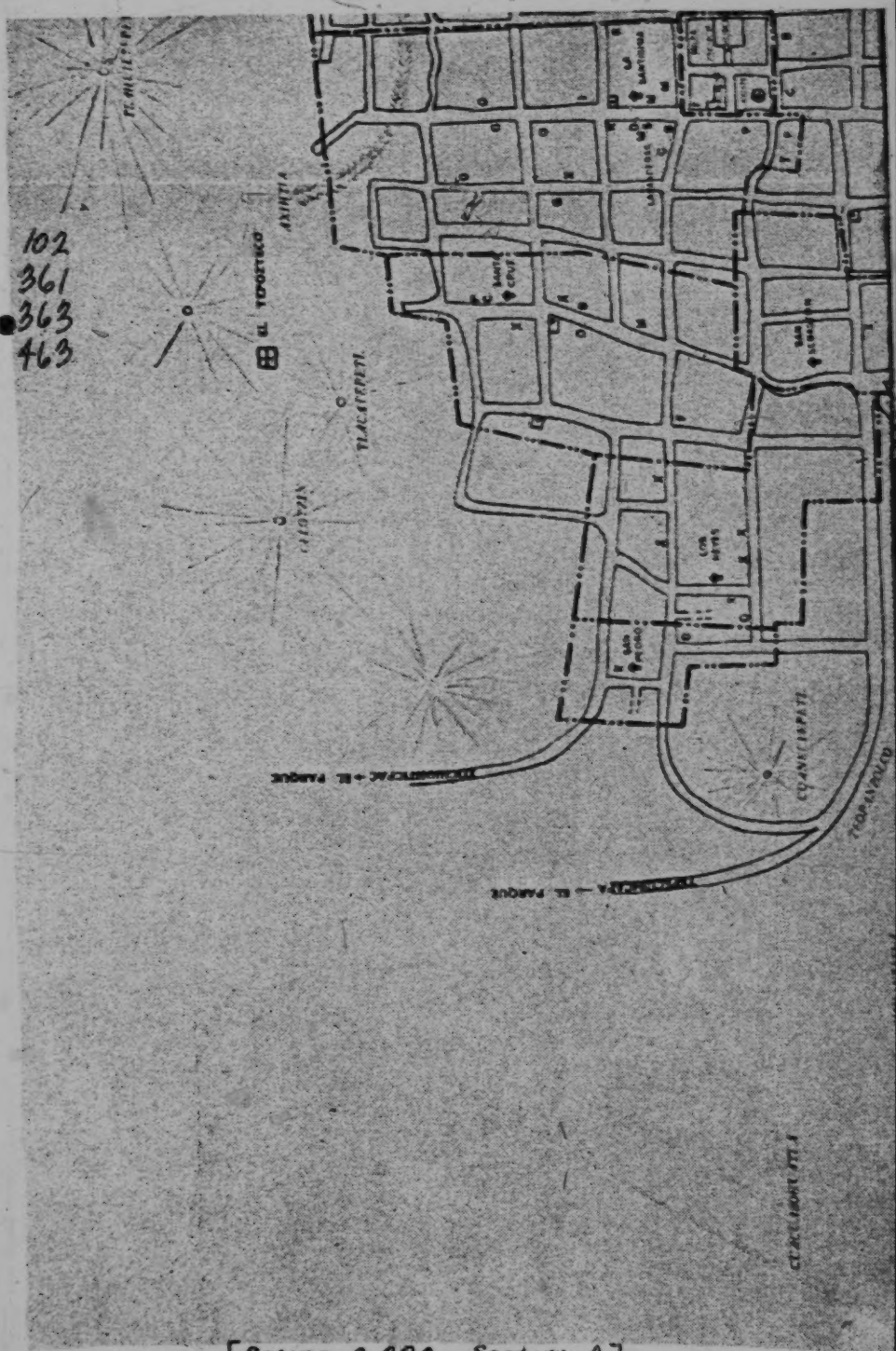
Entering either from above or below one passes first through a belt of tilled ground: corn- and beanfields, each small plot separated from its neighbor by a wall made of heaped fragments of the abundant volcanic rubble. These are the *milpas;* by means of these little properties the villagers are fed, and to them their loyalties are bound.

The houses begin abruptly; they are set close beside the road; most are heavily shaded by trees. The streets are set with stones, rough hewn or placed just as they were found. Only near the *plaza* do the streets become wider, straighter, and smoother; those on the margins of the town are narrow and rough and often crooked. Most have steep grades; when this is so there is not a gradual gradient, but a series of alternating slants and levels. So the streets were laid out before the white men came. The method suggests the alternating stairways and platforms of the Indian *teocalli;* certainly it is adapted to a traffic made up solely of laden men and women; when the roads were first made there were no pack animals in Mexico. Today too the streets are very still; in them no wheel ever moves.

Tepoztlán was a *pueblo* of the Tlahuica, one of the Nahuatl-speaking tribes[1] that made up the last immigration south to the plateau region before the coming of the Spaniards. The ideograph of the town, an ax set in the sign for "mountain" or accompanied by

[1] Others were the Xochimilca, Chalca, Tepaneca, Acolhua, Tlaxcalteca, and Azteca.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



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[Facing p. 220, Section A]

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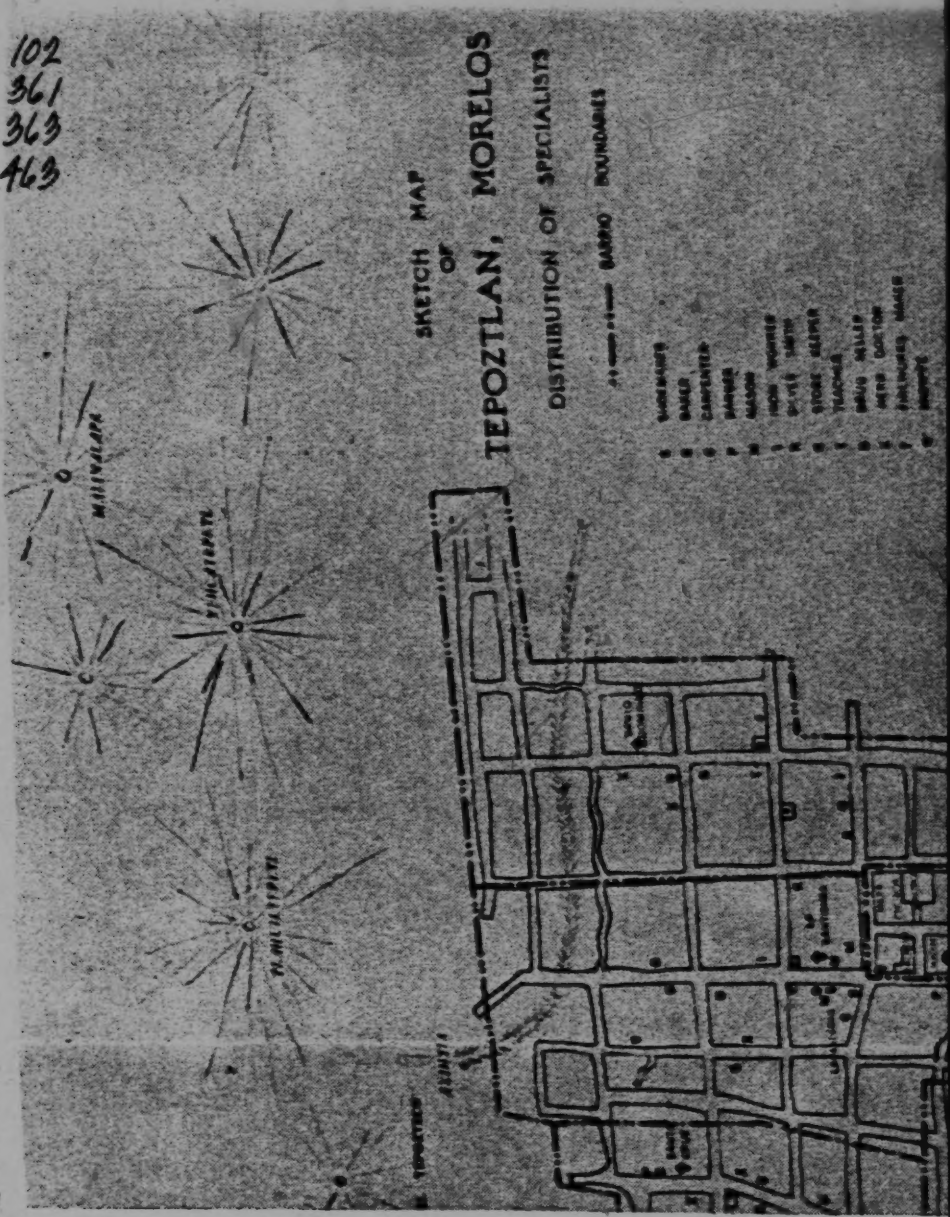

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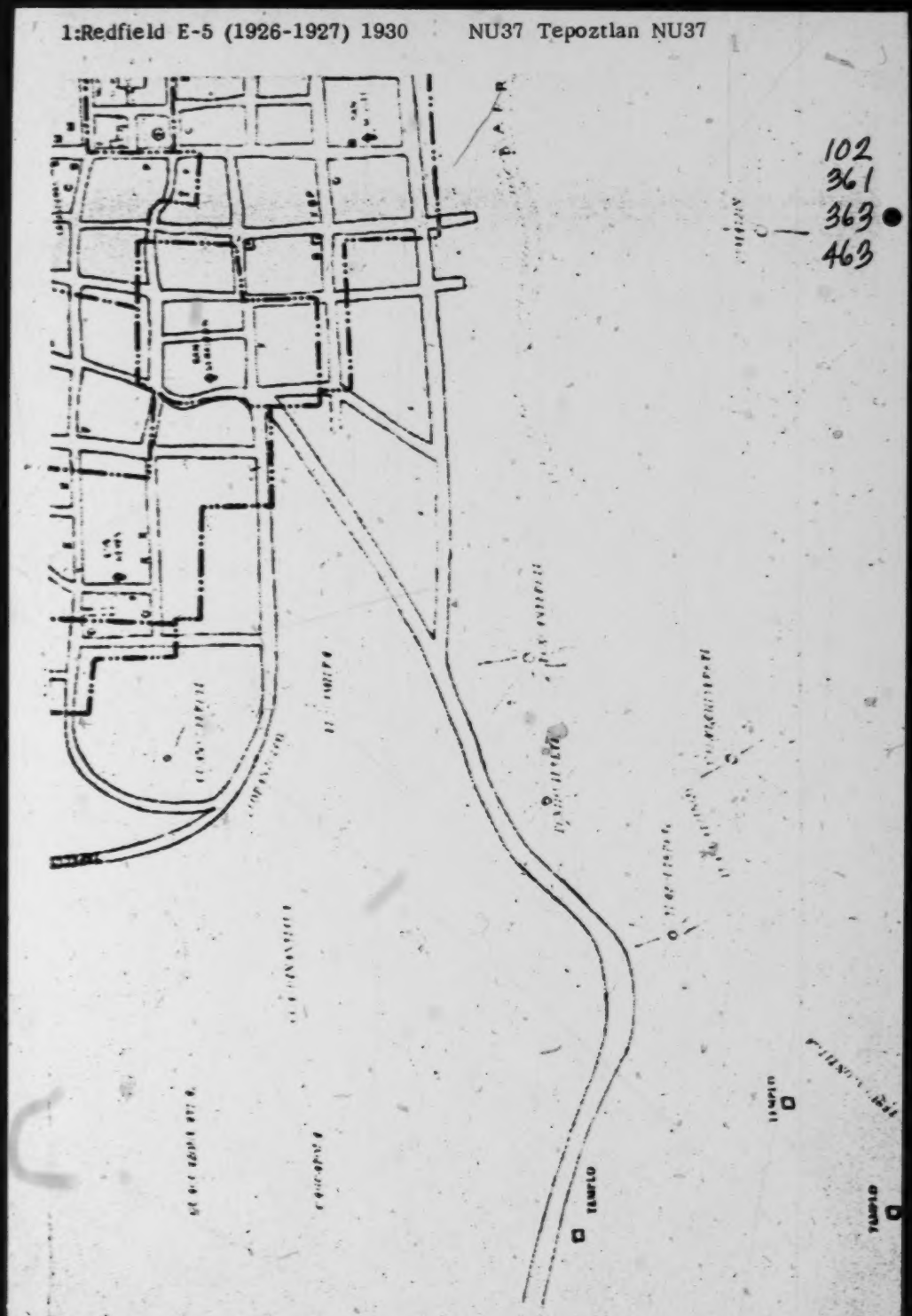

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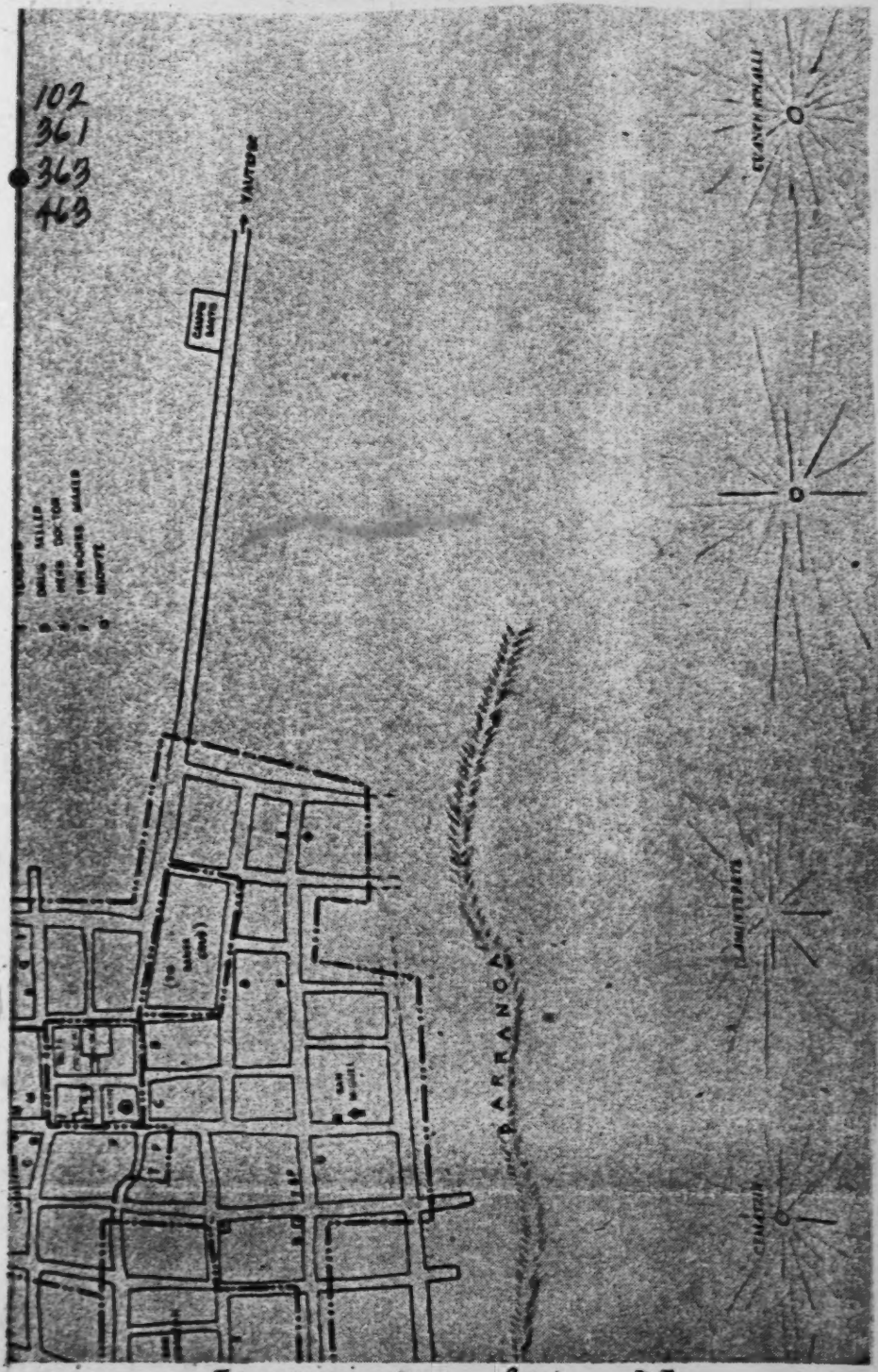

[facing p. 220, Section D]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

year can be grown in Tepoztlán. Lack of water for irrigation is one of the most frequent complaints. Tepoztecans speak of the irrigated farming area of nearby Yautepec, where a few crops a year are grown, as an agricultural paradise.

A rich semi-tropical flora grows in the village. On almost any house site a great variety of plants and trees are found. The more common ones are *papaya*, coffee, *ciruela* (hog plum), *guaje*, *aguacate*, *chayote*, *mango*, banana, *maguey*, and some prickly pear. Most families grow a variety of flowers and herbs which are used for cooking and as medicines.

Like the municipio, the village of Tepoztlán is located on a slope (Fig. 8) and the resulting diversity of topography and climate noted for the municipio is also

Fig. 8. Tepoztlán lies on a steep incline.

characteristic of the village itself, except that the contrasts are less sharp. The upper part of the village is steeper, rockier, and somewhat cooler; the lower part is warmer and, being closer to the surrounding hills and better watered, has a richer flora and more abundant growth of *ciruela* and coffee trees. The incline runs from the northwest to the southeast, for the northern or upper part of the village is several hundred feet higher than the southern part.

The streets running north and south slope steeply. During the rainy season these streets are often converted into cascading streams which rush, knee-deep, downward toward the center. To avoid erosion many streets are stone-paved and terraced. The Aztec system of terracing by means of an ascending series of platforms and inclines is still conserved. (See Fig. 9.) However, many streets, particularly those in the outlying barrios, are neither paved nor terraced and are turned into slippery mud-holes or badly eroded gorges by the rains. Other streets are rough, boulder-strewn pathways which must be climbed rather than walked; still others are covered with weeds and scattered stones and resemble dried-out stream beds more than streets. (See Fig. 10.) The streets running east and west also tend to be hilly and irregular because of the streams, arroyos, and gorges which cut across the village. Only the paved road and the plaza in the center are on a more or less level plane.

The village is large, spread out, and roughly rectangular in shape. (See Fig. 11.) It is approximately two kilometers in length and one and one-half in width. Al-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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Fig. 9. Terrace street, Aztec style.

361 though the village contains 662 house sites, it does not have the compact or crowded
351 appearance of some Mexican towns. For the most part, the houses are separated from each other by gardens, patios, corrals, and sometimes milpas. These are enclosed by low-lying stone walls which do not block the view from the street and
[342] which permit overhanging trees to shade the street. Only a few houses in the center are built contiguously in Spanish style and are enclosed by high, concealing walls.

361 Tepoztlán has the traditional square plaza around which are grouped the more
[367] important public buildings. On one side of the plaza is the small public park, com-
[363] plete with bandstand, shade trees, benches, and brick walks. The paved road, which
494 runs along the other side of the park, ends at this point, and here, too, is the last stop on the bus line.

[344] North of the park is the courthouse which houses the office of the president, secre-
[346] tary, and other local officials. A guard in soldier's uniform is frequently seen pacing
[347] up and down before the steps. The new school house was built next to the court-
[366] house and is now one of the important edifices of the center. Between these two buildings and the plaza itself is the Portales, a semi-enclosed street where most of the stores and permanent vending places are located. The street has a roof supported by columns and provides merchants and buyers protection from the sun and rain.

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Fig. 10. A street, resembling a dried-out stream bed.

rain. To the east is the large cathedral and convent, the most imposing and handsome buildings in the village. The convent is now a historical monument and is visited by tourists. Between the cathedral and the plaza is a row of whitewashed, flat-roofed stores. West of the plaza is a dirt road leading to the lower part of the village, to the cemetery, and to the village of Ixcatepec and more stores. The mills and some of the finer old houses of former *caciques* are also located on the plaza. 361 [346] [344]

This part of the village presents the appearance and some of the hustle and bustle of a town, but the streets off the center are uniformly quiet and rustic and stamp Tepoztlán as a rural village. (See Fig. 12.) But even the center does not give the impression of an active, thriving community. The park, plaza, and public buildings show evidence of chronic neglect. Only for the annual Carnaval is the area well swept and the main fountain cleaned. The park is seldom occupied by the native population and, except when there are tourists, usually looks abandoned. [367]

The stores are small and dark and have unattractive displays. On market days the few vendors and the small variety of goods available betray little commercial activity and a general air of decline. (See Fig. 13.) 366

The streets just off the plaza bear names indicated by placards. As is customary in Mexico the street names commemorate important historical events and outstanding local figures. Thus in Tepoztlán we find such street names as The Fifth of May, Aniceto Villamar, and No Reelección.[8] Only those houses in the center are 103 363

[8] Some of the street names are in Náhuatl and refer to pre-Hispanic figures, for example, Avenida del Tepozteco and Netzahualcoyotl.

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Fig. 11. Tepoztlán, showing streets, plaza, and barrio chapels.

363 numbered, but not in any systematic manner. Street names and house numbers 103
205 are not used by the local population nor do they appear on letters addressed to the villagers from the outside. Since mail remains in the post office until called for, this does not present a problem.

373 At night the village appears even less sophisticated than during the day because of the lack of public street lighting. When there is no moon it is difficult, even dangerous, to walk through the rough streets without a flashlight or candle. Nor-512 mally only young men venture out at night. Most people retire early, and the streets are dark and quiet. During the day the village also tends to be quiet, but many sounds can be heard: voices from within the houses, children crying or playing, housewives slapping tortillas into shape, people and animals walking over the stones, church bells, buses honking and racing loudly along the main thoroughfare, and an occasional lone peddler crying his wares. At night the only sounds

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heard are the serenades of romantic youths, an occasional drunken peasant being taken home, and the animals.

Drinking water is supplied by a spring in one of the surrounding hills. The water is carried to street fountains by iron pipes which were first laid in 1902. Every barrio except San Pedro has one or more of these fountains. In the large barrios, fountains are placed at strategic street corners and are more numerous. In all there

Fig. 13. The end of the main street, Tepoztlán.

are twenty-six public fountains in the village. Most of them are made of clay and cement; some are semi-enclosed and protected by a roof, generally topped by a cross; others are merely open tanks. (See Fig. 14.)

A few homes near the center have water piped directly into their patios or kitchens. For this privilege a small tax is paid to the municipio. There is no attempt to control private use of the public water supply, and this has in the past caused some conflict. In several instances, persons with a private water supply permit relatives, friends, or *compadres* to take as much water as they wish; sometimes a neighbor will connect his water pipe to that of another, thus avoiding the tax. This uncontrolled use sometimes greatly decreases the flow of water into the nearest public fountain, particularly during the dry season when water is scarce. There have been

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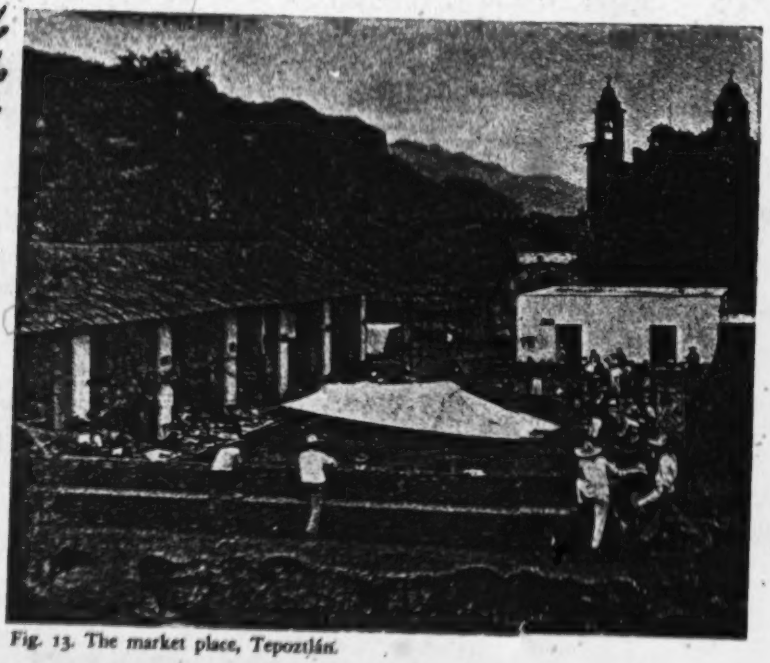

Fig. 13. The market place, Tepoztlán.

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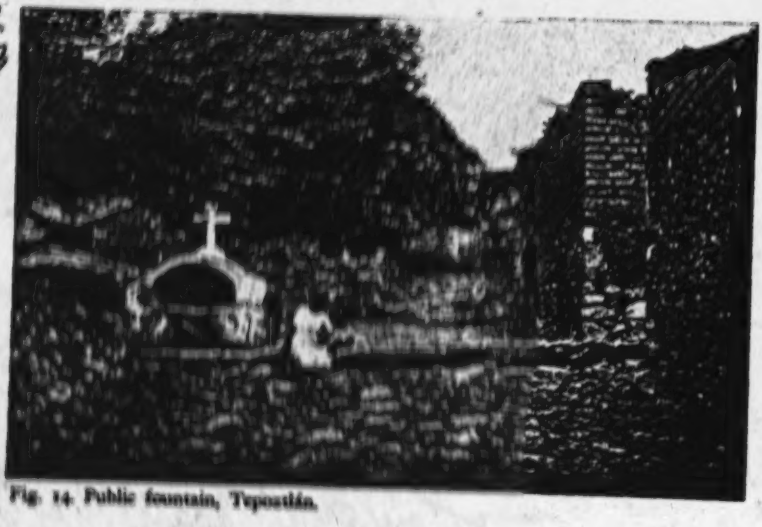

Fig. 14. Public fountain, Tepoztlán.

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Fig. 37. *Cacique* homes.

umns. The rooms of the house are grouped in a rectangle or U-shape and open onto a wide *corredor*, which generally runs the inside length and sides of the house, enclosing the patio. These houses are constructed of brick or stone, covered with plaster, and whitewashed inside and out. A good number of these houses are now in disrepair. Not infrequently the families living in them are the impoverished sons or widows of formerly wealthy men. 342 511

While only the poorest live in *jacales*, it is by no means true that the wealthiest live in the finest houses. Families of every category of wealth live in simple adobe houses. A few of the richest men, who represent the conservative older generation, continue to live in relatively unimproved houses. 342 511 556

There is a distinct tendency for newly rich families to build their homes with simple exteriors, even though the interior may have a degree of elegance and the family can well afford a more imposing looking house. This is done to avoid getting the reputation of being wealthy and to avoid the envy and malice of others. The violence and destruction wreaked against the homes of the wealthy during the Revolution are well remembered, and a few informants made specific reference to the fear of such a recurrence in explaining why they had built their new homes with such plain exteriors. [735] [578] [669]

The great majority of houses in Tepoztlán have no running water or sanitary facilities of any kind. Water is carried in tin cans from the closest public fountain; 312 511

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Fig. 58. Child nurses.

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physical skill or individual competition (except for marbles and tops), and loosely organized play groups. These games also reflect, to a striking degree, the customs, religion, and temperament of the people. Most of the older games involve running and tagging, singing, responding, and imitating adult life. Choosing between alternatives and receiving punishment in the form of work tasks are also common features.

In contrast, the games taught at school are those in which teamwork, competition, scoring, definite goals, loyalty, leadership, sportsmanship, and physical exertion have an important place. This is especially true of games organized for boys and older girls. These games are popular among the young people and are played with enthusiasm.[1]

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The range of activities of boys and girls varies widely insofar as work, school, and play are concerned, and can best be appreciated by describing some cases. The following brief accounts of three boys and three girls represent both the extreme and the middle-of-the-road type. The extreme of more work than play, and almost no schooling, is perhaps the most widespread situation in Tepoztlán.

[1] See Appendix F, p. 491, for list of games most commonly played in school and at home by Tepoztecan children.

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
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including those in Tepoztlán, continue to work their tiny subsistence holdings with traditional backward methods. And the contrast between the old and the new agriculture in Mexico is becoming sharper: less than 1 percent of the cultivated land is worked with the aid of the country's 55,000 tractors; about 20 percent of the land is still worked by the pre-Hispanic method of cutting and burning without benefit of plow and oxen. The production of Mexico's two basic food crops, corn and beans, has managed to keep up with the rapid population growth in the past twenty years but the margin of security has been slight. In drought years Mexico has been forced to spend its precious dollars to import huge quantities of corn to feed its people.

That the Mexican economy cannot give jobs to all of its people is indicated in the fact that from 1942 to 1955 about a million and a half Mexicans came to the United States as *braceros* or temporary agricultural laborers, and this figure does not include the "wet backs" and other illegal immigration. Mexico has also become increasingly dependent on the United States tourist trade for stabilizing its economy. In 1957, over 700,000 tourists from the United States spent almost 600 million dollars in Mexico, making tourism the single largest industry in the country. The income from the tourist trade is about equal to the total Mexican federal budget.

One aspect of the standard of living which has improved very little since 1940 is housing. With a rapidly rising population and with urbanization, crowding and slum conditions in the larger cities and towns are actually getting worse. Of the 5.2 million dwellings reported in the Mexican census of 1950, 60 percent had only one room and 25 percent two rooms; 70 percent of all houses were made of adobe, wood, poles and rods, or rubble, and only 18 percent of brick and masonry. Only 17 percent had private, piped water.

The Village

How has Tepoztlán changed in the light of these national trends? In 1956 the village did not look much different from the way it looked in 1943. The plaza and market still seemed rather desolate and unprosperous; no additional buildings had been built in the center. There were no new streets or paved roads except for two long cement treads which led up a steep street to the *Posada del Tepozteco*, the new tourist resort run by an American family. More automobile and bus traffic entered the village, and trucks came in with such new items as purified water and tanks of cooking gas for the homes of the foreign colony.

Village men still carried water to their homes from the nearest fountain; women still queued up to have their corn ground at the mills. The older people looked much the same, but the clothes of the younger people were more varied, colorful, and citified. More young women had short hair and permanent waves, and one young girl wore blue jeans. The young men wore modern trousers, shirts, and jackets, and more children had shoes, sweaters, and store-bought clothes. The small shops sold more canned goods and pack-